EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

# ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗCΟΥ

# SAYINGS OF OUR LORD

FROM

AN EARLY GREEK PAPYRUS

SCOVERED AND EDITED, WITH TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

BY

BERNARD P. GRENFELL, M.A.

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SENIOR DEMY OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE

WITH TWO PLATES

PUBLISHED

FOR THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

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HENRY FROWDE

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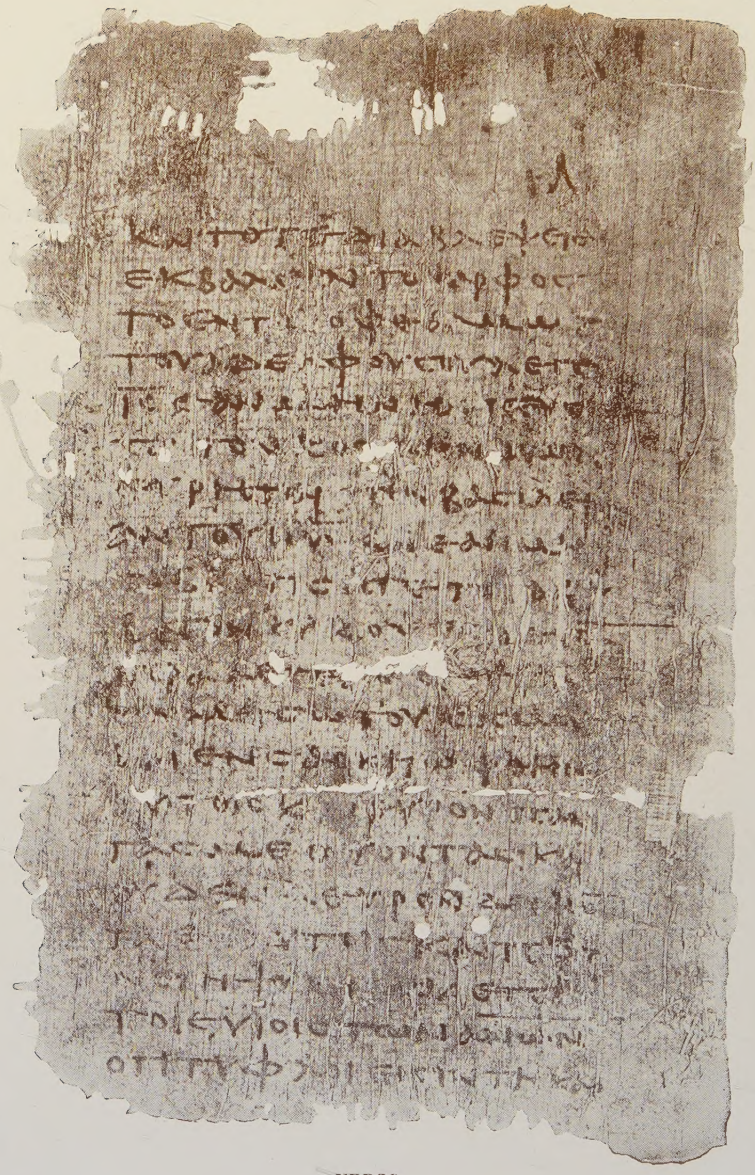

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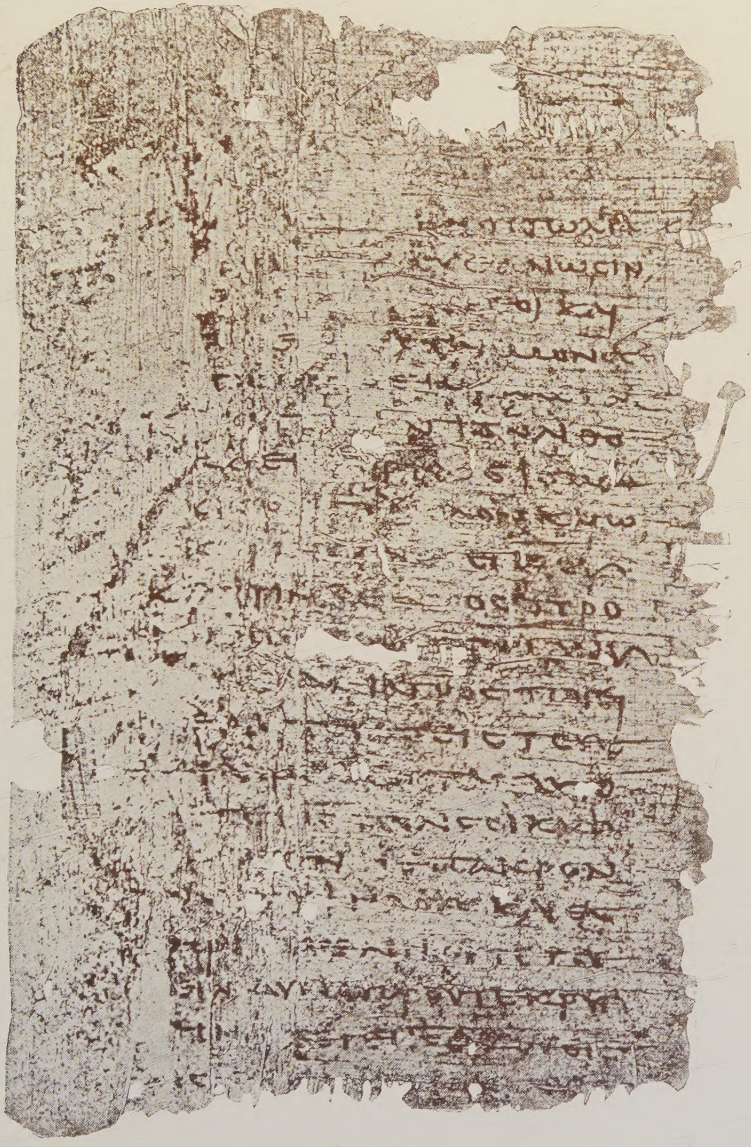

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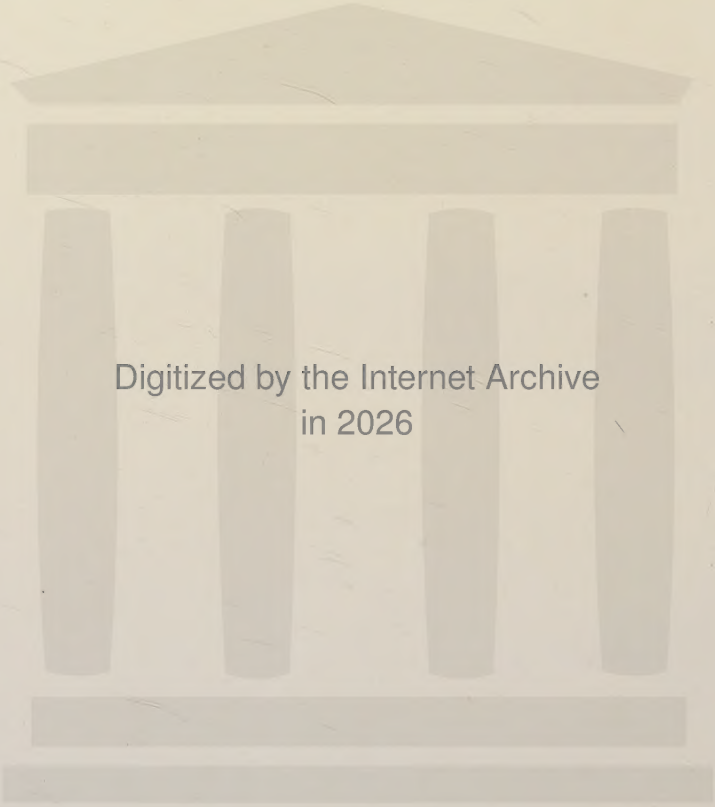
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# I

# INTRODUCTION

On the edge of the Libyan desert, 120 miles south of Cairo, a series of low mounds, covered with Roman and early Arab pottery, marks the spot where stood the capital of the Oxyrhynchite nome. The wide area of the site, and the scale of the buildings and city walls, where traceable, testify to its past size and importance; but it declined rapidly after the Arab conquest, and its modern representative, Behnesa, is a mere hamlet. A flourishing city in Roman times, and one of the chief centres of early Christianity in Egypt, Oxyrhynchus offered a peculiarly attractive field for explorers who, like ourselves, make the recovery of Greek papyri, with all the manifold treasures they may bring, their principal aim. The result of our excavations there during the last winter, an account of which will be published in the next *Archaeological Report of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, amply justified our anticipations. The ancient cemetery, to which for various reasons the first three weeks' work was devoted, proved on the whole unproductive; but in the rubbish-heaps of the town were found large quantities of papyri, chiefly Greek, ranging in date from the first to the eighth century, and embracing every variety of subject. No site, with the probable exception of Arsinoë, has proved so fertile in this respect; and for the examination and editing of the papyri discovered much time will be required. For the present we are concerned with a single fragment, the remarkable character of which seemed to demand its prompt publication. The document in question is a leaf from a papyrus book containing a collection of Logia or Sayings of our Lord, of which some, though presenting several novel features, are familiar, others are wholly new. It was found

at the very beginning of our work upon the town, in a mound which produced a great number of papyri belonging to the first three centuries of our era, those in the immediate vicinity of our fragment belonging to the second and third centuries. This fact, together with the evidence of the handwriting, which has a characteristically Roman aspect, fixes with certainty 300 A.D. as the lowest limit for the date at which the papyrus was written. The general probabilities of the case, the presence of the usual contractions found in biblical MSS., and the fact that the papyrus was in book, not roll, form, put the first century out of the question, and make the first half of the second unlikely. The date therefore probably falls within the period 150–300 A.D. More than that cannot be said with any approach to certainty. Any attempt to distinguish between second and third century uncials is, in the present paucity of dated material, extremely precarious; and we are the less inclined to enter upon it now, since we anticipate that the Oxyrhynchus collection, which contains a large number of uncial fragments, will eventually throw much light upon the question. But in the meantime we are of opinion that the hand of the Logia fragment is far from belonging to the latest type of uncials used before 300 A.D., and that therefore the papyrus was probably written not much later than the year 200.

The fragment measures $5\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, but its height was originally somewhat greater, as it is unfortunately broken at the bottom. In the top right-hand corner of the *verso* side the numeral ΙΑ has been written by a later hand. As it was usual to foliate the right-hand pages of a book, the position of the numeral here is one good reason for supposing the leaf to have been so placed that the *verso* side came uppermost. Other considerations point to the same conclusion. The shorter lines on the *verso* have been supplemented at the end by a 7-shaped character in order to give an appearance of even length, but on the *recto* side this supplementary sign has not been used. Now it is more probable that the scribe wished to make his lines

look regular at the outer margin of the page than at the inner, which is much less conspicuous in turning over the leaves of a book. Further, it is noticeable that a strip of papyrus has been gummed along the left edge of the *recto*. The outer edge is that part of the leaf which is the first to become worn, and hence it is there that a strengthening strip would be expected. But only if the *recto* was the under side could its left edge occupy the outer position. The importance of this question will be seen later (*v.* note on Log. 1).

Some of the regular contractions used in biblical MSS., $\overline{\text{IC}}$, $\overline{\text{ΘC}}$, $\overline{\text{ΠΡ}}$, $\overline{\text{ΑΝΟC}}$, appear in the papyrus, and N at the end of a line is occasionally represented by a horizontal stroke above the final letter. Several common mistakes in spelling occur, ΑΙ for Ε in lines 6 and 7, and ΕΙ for Ι in lines 13, 16, and 35. A more serious error is ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΜΕΝΗ in line 36; ΥΨΗΛΟΥC, two lines lower, seems to have been corrected. The character used to fill up superfluous space at the end of a line has already been alluded to. There is a slight tendency towards division of one word from another. Stops, breathings, and accents are entirely absent.

We print first a reproduction of the Greek text as it stands in the original. Restorations are enclosed in square brackets, and dots inside the latter indicate the approximate number of letters lost. Dots outside brackets represent letters of which only illegible traces remain. Dots underneath a letter mean that the reading is uncertain. We next give the several Logia in modern form, accompanied by an English translation and notes. Finally we proceed to a few general remarks, suggested by a consideration of the contents of the fragment. Here and throughout we hope that the speed with which this little book has been produced will be accepted as an excuse for shortcomings. During its preparation we have consulted Mr. F. C. Conybeare, Mr. J. Rendel Harris, Dr. M. R. James, and Mr. C. H. Turner. To their advice and suggestions we owe much; but for the opinions expressed in these pages we alone must be held responsible.

# II

## TEXT

*Verso.*

ΙΑ

ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΕ ΔΙΑΒΛΕΨΕΙC
ΕΚΒΑΛΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΚΑΡΦΟC
ΤΟ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΩ 7
ΤΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ COY ΛΕΓΕΙ
5 ΙC ΕΑΝ ΜΗ ΝΗCΤΕΥCΗ
ΤΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΚΟCΜΟΝ ΟΥ ΜΗ
ΕΥΡΗΤΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΒΑCΙΛΕΙ
ΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΑΝ ΜΗ
CΑΒΒΑΤΙCΗΤΕ ΤΟ CΑΒ 7
10 ΒΑΤΟΝ ΟΥΚ ΟΨΕCΘΕ ΤΟ
ΠΡΑ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΙC Ε[C]ΤΗΝ
ΕΝ ΜΕCΩ ΤΟΥ ΚΟCΜΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΕΝ CΑΡΚΕΙ ΩΦΘΗΝ
ΑΥΤΟΙC ΚΑΙ ΕΥΡΟΝ ΠΑΝ
15 ΤΑC ΜΕΘΥΟΝΤΑC ΚΑΙ
ΟΥΔΕΝΑ ΕΥΡΟΝ ΔΕΙΨΩ
ΤΑ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΙC ΚΑΙ ΠΟ 7
ΝΕΙ Η ΨΥΧΗ ΜΟΥ ΕΠΙ 7
ΤΟΙC ΥΙΟΙC ΤΩΝ ΑΝΩΝ
20 ΟΤΙ ΤΥΦΛΟΙ ΕΙCΙΝ ΤΗ ΚΑΡ
ΔΙΑ ΑΥΤ̣Ω[Ν] ΚΑ̣Ι̣ . . ΒΛ̣ΕΙ̣Ç
. . . . . .

*Recto.*

[. . . .] . . [. T]HN ΠΤΩΧΗ̈Α
[ΛΕΓ]ΕΙ [ΙC̄ ΟΠ]ΟΥ ΕΑΝ ΩCΙΝ
[. . . .]Ε[. . .] . . Ϙ̣ΕΟΙ ΚΑΙ
[. .]Ϛ̣Ϙ̣ . Ε[. .] ΕCΤΙΝ ΜΟΝΟC
[. .]Ṭ̣Ω ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ ΜΕΤ ΑΥ
Τ[ΟΥ] ΕΓΕΙ[Ρ]ΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΛΙΘΟ̄
ΚΑΚΕΙ ΕΥΡΗCΕΙC ΜΕ.
CΧΙCΟΝ ΤΟ ΞΥΛΟΝ ΚΑΓΩ
ΕΚΕΙ ΕΙΜΙ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΙC̄ ΟΥ
Κ ΕCΤΙΝ ΔΕΚΤΟC ΠΡΟ
ΦΗΤΗC ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΠ̄ΡῙΔ̄Ι ΑΥ
Τ[Ο]Υ ΟΥΔΕ ΙΑΤΡΟC ΠΟΙΕΙ
ΘΕΡΑΠΕΙΑC ΕΙC ΤΟΥC
ΓΕΙΝΩCΚΟΝΤΑC ΑΥΤΟ̄
ΛΕΓΕΙ ΙC̄ ΠΟΛΙC ΟΙΚΟΔΟ
ΜΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΠ ΑΚΡΟΝ
[Ο]ΡΟΥC ΥΨΗΛΟΥϚ̣ ΚΑΙ ΕC
ΤΗΡΙΓΜΕΝΗ ΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ
[C]ΕΙΝ ΔΥΝΑΤΑΙ ΟΥΤΕ ΚΡΥ
[Β]ΗΝΑΙ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΙC̄ ΑΚΟΥΕΙC
[.]Ḭ̣CṬ̣Οẹ̣ . . Ṭ̣ΙΟΝ CΟΥ Ṭ̣Ϙ̣

. . . . . .

# III

# THE LOGIA

## WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

### Logion 1, ll. 1–4.

] καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.

**'. . . and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye.'**

Cf. Luke vi. 42, which agrees exactly with the wording of this passage. Matt. vii. 5 has ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ instead of τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ. If we are right in maintaining that the *verso* side of this leaf came first in the book (*v.* p. 7), there is nothing to show whether the whole of the saying as found in Luke and Matthew preceded. If the *recto* side had come first, there would have been good reason for thinking that the saying appeared in a shortened form, since it is unlikely that more than a few lines are lost at the bottom of the leaf.

### Logion 2, ll. 4–11.

Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον οὐ μὴ εὕρητε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σαββατίσητε τὸ σάββατον οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα.

**'Jesus saith, Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God; and except ye keep the sabbath, ye shall not see the Father.'**

This striking saying is of course new and presents several difficulties. If the reading κόσμον is correct—and there seems to be no alternative—such an accusative after νηστεύειν, 'fast to the world,' is very harsh. Secondly, the

two halves of the saying are clearly intended to balance each other, and therefore we should expect *νηστεύσητε* and *σαββατίσητε* to be either both literal or both metaphorical. But while *σαββατίζειν τὸ σάββατον* is the ordinary phrase in the Septuagint for 'observing the sabbath' (Levit. xxiii. 32, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21), *νηστεύειν* cannot here mean 'fast' literally. Can *σαββατίζειν τὸ σάββατον* be taken in any other than a literal sense? We have been unable to find a parallel, but, on the other hand, *σαββατισμός* is used metaphorically in Heb. iv. 9, and Justin (*Dial.* cap. 12) speaks of the perpetual sabbath enjoined by the new law. Possibly the phrase has here an inner meaning, 'make the sabbath a real sabbath.'

For the idea of 'renouncing the world' cf. Gal. vi. 14 *δι' οὗ ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται, κἀγὼ κόσμῳ*, and the frequent references in St. John to 'the world' in a metaphorical sense. The idea plays an important part in Gnostic writings, though of course not in them alone. Cf. Pistis Sophia, one of the chief Gnostic works which have been preserved (p. 250, Schwartze's transl. p. 158), *Dixi vobis olim*: *ἀποτάσσετε κόσμῳ toti et ὕλῃ toti.* It is noticeable that 'I said to you aforetime,' or some similar phrase is the common formula used in that book for introducing quotations from the Gospels.

The phrase 'ye shall not find the kingdom of God' recalls Matt. vi. 33, 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God,' &c.

## Logion 3, ll. 11–21.

*Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, ἔ[σ]την ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὤφθην αὐτοῖς, καὶ εὗρον πάντας μεθύοντας καὶ οὐδένα εὗρον διψῶντα ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πονεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι τυφλοί εἰσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶ[ν] . . .*

**'Jesus saith, I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them, and my soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart . . .'**

In l. 13 CAPKEI has been corrected by the original hand from CAPKI. Of the latter half of l. 21 only very faint vestiges remain. At the end of it the horizontal stroke which looks like the top of C might only be part of a long cross-bar of Є; and the dot which is discernible before this stroke, and which we have doubtfully transcribed as I, could be the bottom of a long P in the previous line.

The beginning of this Logion was probably suggested by Baruch iii. 38 *μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη*—a passage which was applied by several of the early Fathers to Christ's sojourn upon earth. Cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iv. 20; Cyprian, *Testim.* ii. 6. Considered by themselves the aorists *ἔστην*, *ὤφθην*, *εὗρον* might suggest a post-resurrection point of view; but the present tense *πονεῖ* which follows does not support this, and there is no difficulty in referring the sentence to the period of the ministry. For 'athirst' cf. Matt. v. 6, and for the general tenor of the Logion, John i. 10.

### Logion 4, l. 22.

Traces of two letters are discernible in the middle of the line, but, though excluding certain combinations, they are too scanty to afford a positive clue. ЄI is possible. The Є inserted above the line is by the same hand as the rest of the MS.

As it is uncertain how much has been lost after l. 21, l. 22 may contain the end of the preceding saying; but more probably it forms part of a distinct one. The word *πτωχεία* does not occur in any saying of our Lord recorded in the Gospels, so this Logion was very likely new.

### Logion 5, ll. 23–30.

[λέγ]ει [Ἰησοῦς, ὅπ]ου ἐὰν ὦσιν [. . . .]є[. . .] . . θεοι καὶ [. .]σ̣ο̣ . є [. .] ἐστιν μόνος [. .]τ̣ω ἐγώ εἰμι μετ' αὐτ[οῦ]· ἔγει-[ρ]ον τὸν λίθον κἀκεῖ εὑρήσεις με, σχίσον τὸ ξύλον κἀγὼ ἐκεῖ εἰμί.

**'Jesus saith, Wherever there are . . . . and there is one . . . . alone, I am with him. Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me, cleave the wood and there am I.'**

The meaning of this remarkable Logion, the beginning of which is unfortunately mutilated, constitutes the chief difficulty of the fragment. First as to the reading:—

In l. 23 immediately before ΟΥ there is part of a stroke which may very well be the end of the cross-bar of Π. In l. 24 the remains of the letter before ΕΟΙ are consistent with Θ only, and those of the letter preceding suit Α better than Χ or Λ, which seem to be the only alternatives. Before this there is the bottom of a perpendicular stroke, which would be consistent with Η, Ι, Ν, Π and perhaps Γ and Ψ. At the beginning of l. 25 what we have read as C may equally well be the second half of Π, and Ο . might possibly be one letter, Ω, though this does not correspond with the vestiges so well. In l. 26 the first letter of which any part is preserved may be Τ, Π, or Γ; but [Ε]ΓΩ would not fill the lacuna. In l. 27 there is not room for ΑΥΤ[ΩΝ], and moreover the tip of a letter is visible, which suits Υ.

It seems fairly certain that the Logion offers a general parallel to Matt. xviii. 20—'For where two or three are gathered together,' &c.—though with considerable divergences. An extension of that verse which comes nearer to our passage is found in Ephraem Syr. *Evang. Concord. Expos.* c. 14 (*v.* Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 295), where the important addition *ubi unus est* corresponds to μόνος here, and suggests that ΕΙC should be read either at the beginning of l. 25 or before ΕCΤΙΝ. The meaning may then be that wherever there are several believers, or even only one, Jesus is always present. No explanation can however be considered satisfactory, unless it enables the lacunae in ll. 25 and 26 to be plausibly filled up, and provides an adequate conjecture for the word ending in ΕΟΙ, which is the real key to the whole passage. If ΑΘΕΟΙ is the right reading there, a contrast seems to be intended between the many ungodly and the one true believer:—'Where all men else are unbelievers, if one alone is (faithful), I am with him.' But ἄθεοι is hardly a natural word in this connexion; and some such adjective as πιστός would be required in l. 25, and it is difficult to see how this can be

obtained. Further, unless εἰ is lost at the beginning of l. 25, both the explanations suggested require either ἐστιν to be a mistake for ἦ, or καί to be a mistake for κεἰ.

The whole passage should be compared with an extract from the Gnostic 'Gospel of Eve' quoted by Epiphanius, *Haer.* 26, 3 ἐγὼ σὺ καὶ σὺ ἐγώ· καὶ ὅπου ἐὰν ἦς ἐγὼ ἐκεῖ εἰμι, καὶ ἐν ἅπασίν εἰμι ἐσπαρμένος, καὶ ὅθεν ἐὰν θέλῃς συλλέγεις με, ἐμὲ δὲ συλλέγων ἑαυτὸν συλλέγεις. But the idea here, that Christ is *in* His believers (cf. John xiv. 20), is rather different from that of our passage and Matt. xviii. 20, where it is only promised that He will be *with* them. It is, however, somewhat tempting to connect the quotation with the remarkable but difficult sentence, 'Raise the stone,' &c., as implying the presence of Christ in all things; cf. Eph. iv. 6.

Another possible explanation of these words would be to regard them as a parallel to Matt. vii. 7, 'Ask and it shall be given you,' and as intended to teach the effort required in order to find Christ.

## Logion 6, ll. 30–35.

Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, οὐκ ἔστιν δεκτὸς προφήτης ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτ[ο]ῦ, οὐδὲ ἰατρὸς ποιεῖ θεραπείας εἰς τοὺς γινώσκοντας αὐτόν.

**'Jesus saith, A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him.'**

Cf. Luke iv. 24 οὐδεὶς προφήτης δεκτός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ. Matt. xiii. 57 and Mark vi. 4 have ἄτιμος, and the addition καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ (Mark καὶ ἐν τοῖς συγγενέσιν αὐτοῦ, καί, κ.τ.λ.). John iv. 44 has τιμὴν οὐκ ἔχει, but omits καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ. The significance of the agreement between the text of the papyrus and that of St. Luke will be discussed later. In connexion with the second part of the Logion, which is new, the preceding verse in St. Luke's narrative, 'Physician, heal thyself,' &c., and the following verse in that of St. Mark (vi. 5) should be noticed.

### Logion 7, ll. 36–41.

Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, πόλις ᾠκοδομημένη ἐπ' ἄκρον [ὄ]ρους ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἐστηριγμένη οὔτε πε[σ]εῖν δύναται οὔτε κρυ[β]ῆναι.

**'Jesus saith, A city built upon the top of a high hill, and stablished, can neither fall nor be hid.'**

The scribe certainly wrote ΥΨΗΛΟΥϹ, but he appears to have partially rubbed out the Ϲ.

The idea in Matt. v. 14 here appears in an expanded form. The additional matter suggests the parable of the house built upon a rock, Matt. vii. 24, 25. But it is not really admissible to suppose that this Logion is a mere conflation of the two passages, since there is no reference here to the rock, which is the essential point of the parable.

In Matt. v. 14 the ordinary reading is πόλις κειμένη. But ᾠκοδομημένη is supported by the Syriac versions and Tatian, *Diatess.* viii. 41, which all have 'built,' not 'set.'

### Logion 8, ll. 41, 42.

As at the bottom of col. 1, the traces of letters in the middle of l. 42 are very faint. The third letter could be Γ, the fifth Ϲ. [Ϲ]ΙϹ ΤΟ ΕΝΩΠΙΟΝ ϹΟΥ is a possible reading. The last letter of the line may be Ϲ, and the preceding one Γ or conceivably Κ. The Logion appears to be new.

# IV

## GENERAL REMARKS

It would be obviously impossible for us to attempt an adequate discussion of the questions to which our fragment gives rise, still less to assign its place in early Christian literature. But though this task must be left to theological scholars, it will not perhaps be out of place to indicate the chief problems connected with the discovery, and the direction in which its value seems chiefly to lie.

Since the papyrus itself was written not much later than the beginning of the third century, this collection of sayings must go back at least to the end of the second century. But the internal evidence points to an earlier date. The primitive cast and setting of the sayings, the absence of any consistent tendency in favour of any particular sect, the wide divergences in the familiar sayings from the text of the Gospels, the striking character of those which are new, combine to separate the fragment from the 'apocryphal' literature of the middle and latter half of the second century, and to refer it back to the period when the Canonical Gospels had not yet reached their pre-eminent position. Taking 140 A.D., then, as the *terminus ad quem*, and postponing for the present the question of the *terminus a quo*, we proceed to consider the possibility, which the *provenance* of the papyrus naturally suggests, that our fragment may come from the 'Gospel according to the Egyptians.' This Gospel, of which only a few extracts survive, was probably written about the beginning of the second century, and seems for a time to have attained in Egypt and even elsewhere a high degree of authority. It was however decisively rejected in the third century. Its chief characteristics seem to have

been its Encratite and mystic tendencies. Now, it might be contended that the asceticism of Logion 2 points to an Encratite bias; and that the 'mystic' nature attributed to this Gospel by Epiphanius and indicated in the only excerpt of any length that is preserved (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 6. 45, 9. 63–66), is in keeping with the phraseology of Logion 5. But asceticism such as that of Log. 2 finds abundant parallel in the N. T., and the mysticism of Log. 5 is open to doubt, and in any case it is much less marked than in the extract referred to. A more serious and, in our opinion, fatal objection to the identification is the setting in which these Logia are found. The use of the present tense λέγει, the regular repetition of the opening formula, and still more the obvious want of connexion between the individual sayings, which clearly relate to different occasions, are strongly opposed to the supposition that they could form part of a narrative Gospel. The same objection of course equally applies to the reference of our fragment not only to the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews'—which moreover is the less likely a claimant since it seems to have been closely related to St. Matthew's Gospel from which our fragment is widely divergent—but to any so-called 'Gospels.' These, whether professing to fill up gaps left by the Canonical Gospels, or going over the same ground from the point of view of a particular sect, at any rate gave a connected narrative of events and discourses, not a series of disjointed sayings.

But it will perhaps be said that, though our fragment may not actually form part of any one of these compositions, it may still be a series of excerpts from one or more of them. It is of course impossible to disprove such a theory. But in the absence of any clear case of parallelism between the contents of the fragment and what is known of these apocryphal books, it has little to recommend it. It has no *a priori* probability, the general character of the sayings lends it no support, and, since extracts would presumably be made with some purpose, it fails to explain the want of connexion between one saying and another.

A more satisfactory view, though not free from difficulties, is that this fragment is what it professes to be, a collection of some of our Lord's sayings. These, judging from their archaic tone and framework, were put together not later than the end of the first or the beginning of the second century; and it is quite possible that they embody a tradition independent of those which have taken shape in our Canonical Gospels. The insistence on the observance of the sabbath, if that be the meaning of Log. 2, suggests that the sayings may have been current in Jewish Christian circles. The principle of the compilation is not obvious. Perhaps it was their picturesque force that determined their selection; perhaps they were chosen as pregnant utterances requiring elucidation. In any case we may here have got for the first time a concrete example of what was meant by the Logia which Papias tells us were compiled by St. Matthew, and the λόγια κυριακά upon which Papias himself wrote a commentary. The statement about St. Matthew (*ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39), Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο· ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος, has always been taken as the starting-point in any discussion of the synoptic problem, but of the meaning of the word λόγια the most diverse views have been held. It is not of course at all likely that our fragment has any actual connexion either with the Hebrew Logia of St. Matthew or the λόγια κυριακά of Papias. It contains nothing which suggests the one or the other, and probably many such collections were made. But it is difficult to imagine a title better suited to a series of sayings, each introduced by the phrase λέγει Ἰησοῦς, than Logia; and the discovery strongly supports the view that in speaking of λόγια Papias and Eusebius intended some similar collection.

To sustain this theory, it is necessary to undertake some consideration of the relations of the fragment to our Gospels. The Logia which have clear parallels in the Gospels are the first, fifth, sixth, and seventh. The first, so far as it is preserved, corresponds precisely with the language of Luke vi. 42, but the difference between this reading and that of

Matt. vii. 5 is too slight to be of much importance. A much more remarkable case of agreement with St. Luke against the other Evangelists is the occurrence in Log. 6 of the word δεκτός. On the other hand, Log. 7 offers a point of contact with St. Matthew's Gospel which alone has the saying about the city set on a hill; and the promise 'where two or three are gathered together,' &c., which perhaps reappears in another form in Log. 5, is also peculiar to St. Matthew. Of the influence of St. Mark's Gospel there is no trace, nor is there any direct connexion with St. John's; but two of the new Logia, both in their general tenor and in the use of the words κόσμος, ὁ πατήρ, and ἐν σαρκί, have a Johannine sound. Against these points of agreement with our Gospels have to be set both the occurrence of new Logia, and the divergences of reading.

The first explanation which suggests itself is that we have here only another instance of free citation from our Gospels. But this cannot be considered satisfactory. If there were a perfectly clear case in our fragment of verbal agreement with one of the Evangelists, there would be some ground for supposing that the other passages which approximated to the Gospel text were loose or expanded quotations. Logion 1 is too incomplete to carry much weight. The only coincidence which is at all striking is the use of the word δεκτός. Here St. Matthew and St. Mark have ἄτιμος, St. John τιμὴν οὐκ ἔχει, and this is just one of the cases in which St. Luke's variation has been explained, not as due to a difference in, or an independent use of, the sources, but as a literary improvement. If this assumption is correct, it would certainly be reasonable to regard the passage in St. Luke as the origin of our Logion, the differences between the two could be put down to misquotation, and the following sentence about the physician could be taken as a literary expansion. But while the strength of this position may be admitted, it is far from being unassailable. In the first place, its basis is after all only a hypothesis, which, even if true for a number of variations, need not be so in this particular instance.

It may be argued from the occurrence of the word δεκτός unaccompanied by other points of agreement, not that the fragment borrowed from St. Luke, but that both drew from a common source, or at least were influenced by the same body of tradition. Should such a view be held to be probable here, it would have an important bearing upon the whole question of the independence of St. Luke's Gospel. Secondly, since we have in any case to assume a source other than the Gospels for the Logia which are entirely new, is it not simpler to regard this as the source of the whole collection? The validity of this argument of course depends largely upon the view taken of the new sayings. Those critics who put them down as 'Gnostic' inventions will probably maintain the dependence of their author upon the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke as we have them. Starting from the fact that they do not appear to be quoted by any writer, while the MS. containing them may be as late as the third century, to postulate a Gnostic origin would be an easy explanation, and one to which the character of Log. 5 might be held to give some support. But, partly owing to the doubt as to the meaning of that passage pending a restoration of the first three lines, its 'Gnosticism' is far from being ascertained. And if the other new logia are to be branded as 'Gnostic,' it is difficult to see what might not be included under that convenient category. Of the peculiar tenets of developed Gnosticism we have here not a vestige. Even if the prevailing judgement of these sayings should be that they were preserved in Gnostic circles, and themselves show some trace of the tendencies out of which Gnosticism developed, it does not follow that they are therefore inventions. And, whether free or not from Gnostic influence, the genuine ring of what is new in this fragment, and the primitive cast of the whole, are all in favour of its independence of our Gospels in their present shape.

THE END

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